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# **SOME FACTS ABOUT THE PROPOSED DISMEMBERMENT OF HUNGARY**

**With a Map, Statistical Table and  
Two Appendices**

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**By**  
**EUGENE PIVANY**  
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**Author of**  
**Hungarians in the American Civil War, etc.**

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**Hungarian American Federation  
404-406 Superior Building  
Cleveland, Ohio**

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By ~~Franklin~~

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## SOME FACTS ABOUT THE PROPOSED DISMEMBERMENT OF HUNGARY

The former Kingdom of Hungary--the Lands of the Crown of St. Stephen, as it was called in the terminology of public law--consisted of Hungary proper and Croatia-Slavonia. The Croatians had been recognized as a separate nation, and enjoyed a high degree of home rule which, however, did not satisfy them, their aspirations being for complete independence from the Hungarian Crown. After the revolution of October 30, 1918, the Government of the new democratic Republic of Hungary freely acknowledged the independence of Croatia, and only wanted the rights of the Hungarian minority in Croatia protected and free access to the sea assured. On the following pages I shall deal, therefore, only with Hungary proper, without Croatia.

This Hungary proper covers a territory of 109,216 square miles, and her boundaries have not appreciably changed during the last thousand years. This is not a mere accident, but is due to the working of natural laws which cannot be infringed with impunity.

Geographically her territory is the most compact in Europe, as a glance at the map will show.

Hydrographically the country belongs to one river system, there being only three small rivers which do not join the Danube or its tributaries within her boundaries.

Economically the different sections of the country are interdependent, each section having a surplus of things which the other sections cannot produce. Separately they cannot exist, together they form a splendid self-supporting organism.

Racially the Hungarian or Magyar race predominates, making up more than one-half of the total population and being numerically more than three times as strong as the next race in numbers, the Rumanians. Its predominance, however, has been due not to mere numbers, but mainly to the fact that it has founded, built up and maintained the Hungarian State for a thou-

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sand years, and put a distinctly Magyar stamp on the civilization of the whole country.

The central plains of Hungary are populated almost wholly by the Magyars. Towards the peripheries their numbers diminish, although right on the Hungarian-Rumanian border there are three counties almost entirely Magyar. But they are present everywhere, and in the peripheries the various races are so intermingled that it is impossible to cut out large territories on a racial basis without incorporating large minorities of other races which, of course, object to such incorporation.

*The dismemberment of Hungary has been proposed in order to secure the right of self-determination of small nations. The perusal of the statistical table and of the map attached to this pamphlet will easily convince everybody open to conviction that the claims put forward by the imperialistic neighbors of Hungary and apparently approved at Paris, cannot be justified on the basis of that principle. On the contrary, those claims are direct denials of the right of self-determination, for in each of the sections claimed by the three neighboring countries the particular race claiming it is in the minority. Neither is it in accord with the facts that by the proposed dismemberment of Hungary the Magyar race would be confined to its ethnic limits, for in the territories to be wrested from Hungary the Magyars would have a very large plurality and, together with the German element, would form a majority. The ethnic limits of the Magyar race are hard to define; they certainly reach beyond the boundaries of Hungary into Rumania and Croatia.*

The Rumanians claim nearly one-half of the territory of Hungary, twenty-six counties out of sixty-three, with a total population of nearly seven millions, out of which not quite three millions, or 43 per centum, are Rumanians, and many of them are disinclined to be ruled by the *boyars*, as the *junkers* of Rumania are called. In the fifteen counties of Transylvania (South-Eastern Hungary) the Rumanians have indeed a bare majority, but it is right there on the south-eastern border that large contiguous territories are peopled by Székely Magyars and Saxon settlers.

In practically all the towns of ten thousand and over the Magyars are in the majority, and in the few instances in which they are not, the majority is German. Yet the Rumanians claim such important Magyar cities as Maros-Vásárhely, Nagyvárad, Szatmár, Arad, and—last, but not least—Kolozsvár, the capital of Transylvania. Kolozsvár, the *Precious* (Kincses Kolozsvár), as the Hungarians love to call it, is a beautiful city full of historical associations dear to the hearts of all Hungarians; it has a university, several colleges, museums and libraries, it is the centre of the Unitarian Church in Hungary, and a commercial emporium as well. All that has been created by the Magyars through the work of centuries. The Rumanians have had no part in it, constituting only one per centum of the population and, with a few exceptions, being employed there to perform menial work.

It is also to be borne in mind that Hungary has been the eastern bulwark of Western Christianity and, particularly, of Protestantism. East and South

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of Hungary there is no Protestantism, and hardly any Roman Catholicism. In Rumania (as also in Servia) the Greek Orthodox Church is the state church, and creed and race go there together. The religious intolerance of the Rumanians is notorious, and the extension of their rule over a large part of Hungary would ruin the colleges, seminaries and other educational institutions of the Presbyterians, Lutherans and Unitarians, in fact, it would endanger the very existence of those churches. In the twenty-six counties claimed by Rumania there are twenty-five colleges connected with the Protestant churches, and among the Protestant population of those regions 78.2% can read and write, the corresponding figure among the adherents of the Greek Churches being only 34.9%. Yet the Hungarian Government has paid (in 1917) the Rumanian ecclesiastical and educational establishments in Hungary subsidies closely approximating fifteen millions Crowns (three million dollars), while an equal number of Presbyterians—an almost purely Magyar community—received only eleven million Crowns.

It is an admitted fact that the Rumanian people of Hungary are on a much higher level of civilization both as to literacy and to wealth than their brethren in the Kingdom of Rumania, where they surely cannot complain of racial oppression. The same applies, even in a higher degree, to the Servian people of Hungary as compared with the people in the Servian Kingdom.

*The claims of Servia to Hungarian territory rest on a still more slender basis than those of Rumania. Apart from the fact that the Servians of Hungary are descendants of refugees who had found there an asylum against Turkish oppression, they form only a small minority of the population of the regions claimed. Their claim embraces 15,829 square miles with a population of nearly three millions, of whom only 427,876, or 14.5%, are Servians, and 113,822, or 3.8%, are Croatians. Even if we suppose all the smaller races collected in the census under the heading of "others" to be Shokatses, Bunyevatases and Slovenes, races kindred to the Servians, the total of all Yugoslavs in the regions claimed would be less than 25%.*

Both Rumania and Servia have been very much behind Hungary in all that counts for civilization, as a comparison of the educational and economical statistics of the three countries plainly shows. To extend the notorious political methods of the Balkan over more than one-half of Hungary, to further "Balkanize," so to say, Eastern Europe, would be a step not forward, but backward on the road to true democracy. Deputy Radic, a Croatian and a strong hater of everything Magyar, made in effect the same statement, as quoted in the *Paris Temps* of February 18, 1919, and reprinted in *The Nation*, New York, March 22, 1919. He said:

"Our geographical situation, our orientation toward Hungary—a European state—make us federalists in order not to become dependent upon the Balkans, which are, whatever one may say, an extension of Asia. Our duty is to Europeanize these Balkans and not to Balkanize the Croatians and Slovenians."

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*The Czech claims*, as originally formulated, were based on the principle of race, and comprised only that part of Northern Hungary in which the Slovak people were numerically predominating. Even that was contrary to the right of self-determination, for the majority of the Slovak people of Hungary want no union with the Czechs. They said so openly in their national meeting held at Kassa in December last, declaring that *the Slovaks are a nation free and independent from both Bohemia and Hungary*, but recognizing the force of economical laws they would be willing to enter into a federation with the rest of Hungary.

Later, however, the Czechs threw the ethnic principle overboard and increased their demands so as to join hands in the Northeast with the Rumanians, and in the West, by setting up a "corridor," with the Yugoslavs, no matter what foreign races they would have to incorporate in their new empire. Thus the remainder of Hungary would be surrounded by an iron ring of Slavs and Rumanians, and cut off from direct communication with Western Europe. The Czechs claim from Hungary now a territory of 25,540 square miles with a total population of over four millions, of whom only 1,653,341, or 40.5 per centum, are Slovaks, hardly more than the Magyars in the same regions.

They, too, want to incorporate in their new empire a number of important Magyar cities, such as *Pozsony* and *Kassa*, for instance, both being Hungarian university towns and the centers of culture and trade for large regions. These two cities are also rich in historical associations, the former having been the seat of the Hungarian Diet for centuries, where many kings of Hungary had been crowned, and the latter having been prominently connected with the war of liberation led by Francis Rákóczí whose earthly remains rest there in the beautiful old cathedral. The Slovak element in these, and many other, towns is almost negligible.

*Should all the claims be satisfied, there would remain to Hungary only 24,605 square miles (out of 109,216) with a population of 5,509,168 (out of 18,264,533). Less than one-half (4,925,971) of the Magyars would belong to this "New Hungary," while the larger half of the race (5,018,656) would have to live in foreign countries or be forced to emigrate from what had been their homes for many centuries.*

Losing practically all of her timber, coal, minerals, salt and natural gas, the "New Hungary" would be deprived of every possibility of industrial life. She would lose nearly all of her heavy industry and a very considerable part of her textile industry to Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania, and, with no natural boundaries and no outlet to the sea, would be at the mercy of her imperialistic neighbors.

It is evident that a settlement wrought with such crying iniquity could not lead to the solution of the East European question, and must inevitably sow the seeds of a new war. If, in accordance with President Wilson's announcement that no territory shall be shifted from the sovereignty of one state to that of another without the consent of the majority of the people, plebiscites should be taken in the regions claimed, the results of such plebiscites could not be doubtful, provided they be carried out under fair conditions, for instance under American control.

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It is exactly this what the annexationists seem to fear, and this fear may partly account for the intimidation, persecution, and, in some instances, shocking cruelty and murder, to which the Servian, Rumanian and Czech armies of occupation have been subjecting all those who were not willing to submit to foreign rule.

Surely, some way ought to be, and can be, found to reconcile the just claims of race with the laws of history, geography and political economy. The plan advanced, and partly put into execution (in the case of the Ruthenians of Hungary), by the government headed by Count Károlyi is well worth considering. It was a proposition to make a *Switzerland of the East* out of Hungary, to give local autonomy to each race, while a common parliament and a central government would manage financial, commercial, military and foreign affairs.

The dismemberment of Hungary, on the other hand, would leave a legacy of hatred and revenge in the hearts of the Magyars, which would be transmitted as a sacred inheritance from father to son and create a new *irredentism* more intensive than any hitherto known.

In closing this presentation of facts, I wish to state that the statistical data used in this paper were compiled from the Hungarian Census of 1910, there being no later figures to go by. Since the charge has repeatedly been made—without producing any proof—that the Hungarian statistics is unreliable, and that the returns as to the mother tongue, or nationality, had been falsified to favor the Magyar race, some authentic information on the subject is submitted in *Appendix B*.

In *Appendix A* are presented the views of a few prominent American and British public men on the Hungarian question. These views are well worth reading and pondering, not only because they are the views of persons endowed with superior intellectual powers, but also because they had been arrived at, and expressed, before the evil passions of hatred and revenge engendered by the great war dimmed the vision of a considerable part of mankind, and before our press and the book market has been flooded with cheap propaganda literature.

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#### APPENDIX A.

#### EXCERPTS FROM STATEMENTS OF AMERICAN AND BRITISH PUBLIC MEN.

In June, 1849, when Hungary, under the leadership of Louis Kossuth was battling heroically against fearful odds for freedom and independence, President Zachary Taylor appointed *Ambrose Dudley Mann*, of Virginia, "special and confidential agent to Hungary," and instructed him to report on conditions in that country with the view of acknowledging its independence. However, the dispatching of the American agent was of no assistance to Hungary which, abandoned by the Western Powers, had to succumb to the combined attacks of the two greatest military powers of the age, Austria and Russia.

In his message, dated March 28, 1850, transmitting the correspondence relating to Mann's mission to the Senate, *President Taylor* wrote as follows:

"My purpose, as freely avowed in this correspondence, was to have acknowledged the independence of Hungary had she succeeded in establishing a government *de facto* on a basis sufficiently permanent in its character to have justified me in doing so, according to the usages and settled principles of this Government, and although she is now fallen, and many of her gallant patriots are in exile or in chains, I am free still to declare that had she been successful in the maintenance of such a government as we could have recognized, we should have been the first to welcome her into the family of nations."

As Congressman *Henry J. Steele*, of Pennsylvania, recently said in a public speech, *had Hungary then not been abandoned to her fate, the development of democracy in Central and Eastern Europe would have taken a different turn*, and it would not have been necessary in 1917 "to make the world safe for democracy" by a sanguinary war.

The American agent sent to Hungary also felt that the abandonment of Hungary at that critical juncture was a fatal mistake. In his report to Washington, dated Vienna, September 27, 1849, he said:

"In not formally expressing her disapproval of the policy avowed in the manifesto of Nicholas of 14th May last, Great Britain either misconceived the nature of the obligations imposed upon her as the most liberal and enlightened of the European powers or was ignorant of the principles and interests involved in the issue. Had she proclaimed in emphatic language within twenty-four hours after this manifesto reached Downing street that she was prepared to resist an armed intervention by any power adverse to Hungary, the Czar would scarcely have had the temerity to march his army across his frontiers. The deplorable omission of such duty changes completely the relations of power in European states."

Autocracy having been victorious, Louis Kossuth, the champion of European democracy, was interned in Asia Minor. In 1851 he was liberated, mainly through the efforts of Daniel Webster, and brought to the United States in a national vessel as the guest of the nation.

*Daniel Webster*, then secretary of state for the second time, whose celebrated *Hülsemann* letter had nearly led to war with Austria on account of

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Hungary, was the principal American speaker at the congressional banquet tendered in honor of Kossuth in Washington, January 5, 1852.

"It is remarkable"—he said in the course of his speech—"that, on the Western coasts of Europe, political light exists. There is a sun in the political firmament, and that sun sheds his light on those who are able to enjoy it. But in eastern Europe, generally speaking, and on the confines between eastern Europe and Asia, there is no political sun in the heavens. It is all an arctic zone of political life. The luminary, that enlightens the world in general, seldom rises there above the horizon. The light which they possess is at best crepuscular, a kind of twilight, and they are under the necessity of groping about to catch, as they may, any stray gleams of the light of day. Gentlemen, the country of which your guest tonight is a native is a remarkable exception. She has shown through her whole history, for many hundreds of years, an attachment to the principles of civil liberty, and of law and of order, and obedience to the constitution which the will of the great majority have established. That is the fact, and it ought to be known wherever the question of the practicability of Hungarian liberty and independence are discussed. It ought to be known that Hungary stands out from it above her neighbors in all that respects free institutions, constitutional government, and a hereditary love of liberty.

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"Gentlemen, my sentiments in regard to this effort made by Hungary are here sufficiently well expressed. In a memorial addressed to Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston, said to have been written by Lord Fitzwilliam, and signed by him and several other Peers and members of Parliament, the following language is used, the object of the memorial being to ask the mediation of England in favor of Hungary:

"While so many of the nations of Europe have engaged in revolutionary movements, and have embarked in schemes of doubtful policy and still more doubtful success, it is gratifying to the undersigned to be able to assure your lordships that the Hungarians demand nothing but the recognition of ancient rights and the stability and integrity of their ancient constitution. To your lordships it cannot be unknown that that constitution bears a striking family resemblance to that of our own country."

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"Gentlemen, the progress of things is unquestionably onward. It is onward with respect to Hungary. It is onward everywhere. Public opinion, in my estimation at least, is making great progress. It will penetrate all resources, it will come more or less to animate all minds, and in respect to that country, for which our sympathies tonight have been so strongly invoked, I cannot but say that I think the people of Hungary are an enlightened, industrious, sober, well-inclined community, and I wish only to add, that I do not now enter into any discussion of the form of government which may be proper for Hungary. Of course, all of you, like myself, would be glad to see her, when she becomes independent, embrace that system of government which is most acceptable to ourselves. We shall rejoice to see our American model upon the Lower Danube, and on the mountains of Hungary. But that is not the first step. It is not that which will be our first prayer for Hungary. That first prayer shall be, that Hungary may become independent of all foreign power, that her destinies may be entrusted to her own hands, and to her own discretion. I do not profess to understand the social relations and connections of races, that may affect the public institutions of Hungary. All I say is, that Hungary can regulate these matters for herself infinitely better than they can be regulated for her by Austria, and therefore I limit my aspirations for Hungary, for the present, to that single and simple point:

Hungarian independence, Hungarian control of Hungarian destinies, and Hungary as a distinct nationality among the nations of Europe."

But let us turn to more recent utterances of authors still living. *Mr. Archibald R. Colquhoun* in his book entitled *The Whirlpool of Europe*, published by Dodd, Mead & Co. in 1914, (which is by no means too friendly to

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Hungary) wrote under the caption *Slav and Magyar* as follows:

"Although modified in appearance, in customs, and in character by the people they have assimilated, the Magyars have retained, throughout all vicissitudes, an extraordinary homogeneity. Hungary has been a sovereign nation and a kingdom since 1000 A. D., and has never owned allegiance to any monarch who has not been affirmed and crowned by her Estates. Moreover, the Hungarian is the only complete nation under the Austrian Crown. Even Bohemia, claiming similar historic rights, does not occupy the same position. Her people are not intact; Czechs are living under Prussian rule, Czech territory has been reduced by the conquest of neighboring states. Moreover, there is within Bohemia a second nation, the Germans, with equal rights to the Czechs. Their position is therefore constitutionally different from that of Hungary as a free sovereign state and nation. The rest of the peoples under Austrian rule are detached fragments of nations, remnants of ancient states."

In the chapter on *Hungary and the Hungarians* Mr. Colquhoun continues:

"The Magyars, as said already, occupy a unique position in the dual monarchy, not only politically but racially, because they are an entire and homogeneous nation. The undeniable fact that they are by no means a pure race, but have assimilated other peoples, and have undergone physical and mental modifications in consequence, does not detract from their position. Like the United States (on a much larger scale) this little nation has been strong enough to stamp its individuality on alien peoples."

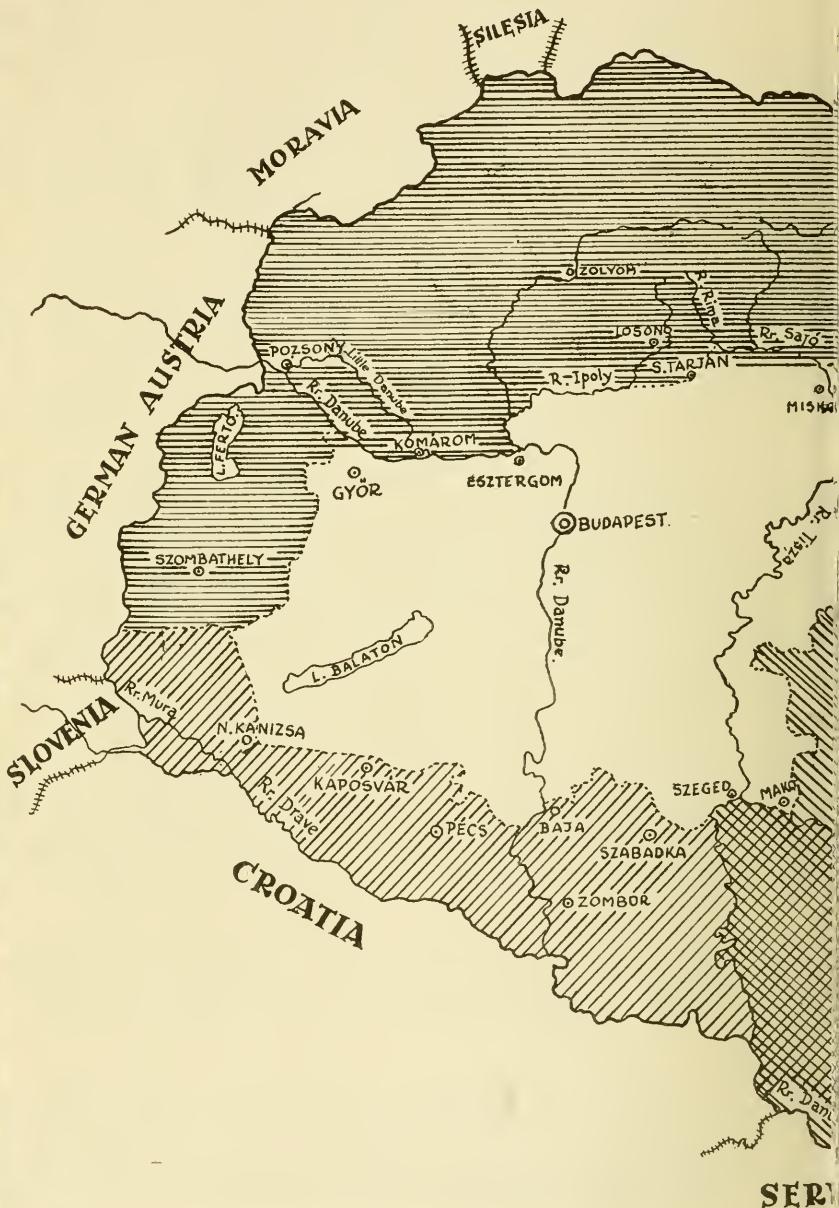
"It is stated that it is better for a stranger to address the middle and lower class people in French or English first, not with the expectation of being understood, but as a passport to favor, after which he may get the desired information in German. Although this is mainly the result of a policy of Magyarisation, there is an element at work in producing it which is more than mere State policy or compulsion. It is agreed by many foreigners living in Hungary that there is a contagion about the nationalist aspiration which is almost irresistible. In no country in the world are there to be seen so many divers races making one (despite local jealousies) in their support of Hungarian national tradition, and all are as vehement in their advocacy of Hungarian independence as the Magyars themselves. Jews and Germans swell with patriotic pride over their "ancient constitution," and more than one instance could be cited of Hungarian patriots (some well known as the exponents of the Magyars to Europe) who have not one drop of Magyar blood.

"The contagion, the attraction, are in the Magyar people themselves, and surely in this magic quality lies the secret of their success. The magnetic force they exercise is doing work which mere coercion or manoeuvering could not accomplish. Elements of weakness, of unevenness, and of danger there are, but the core of the matter, the character of the true Magyar, is not only sound, but is displaying that most valuable and intangible of qualities—the power of attraction and assimilation."

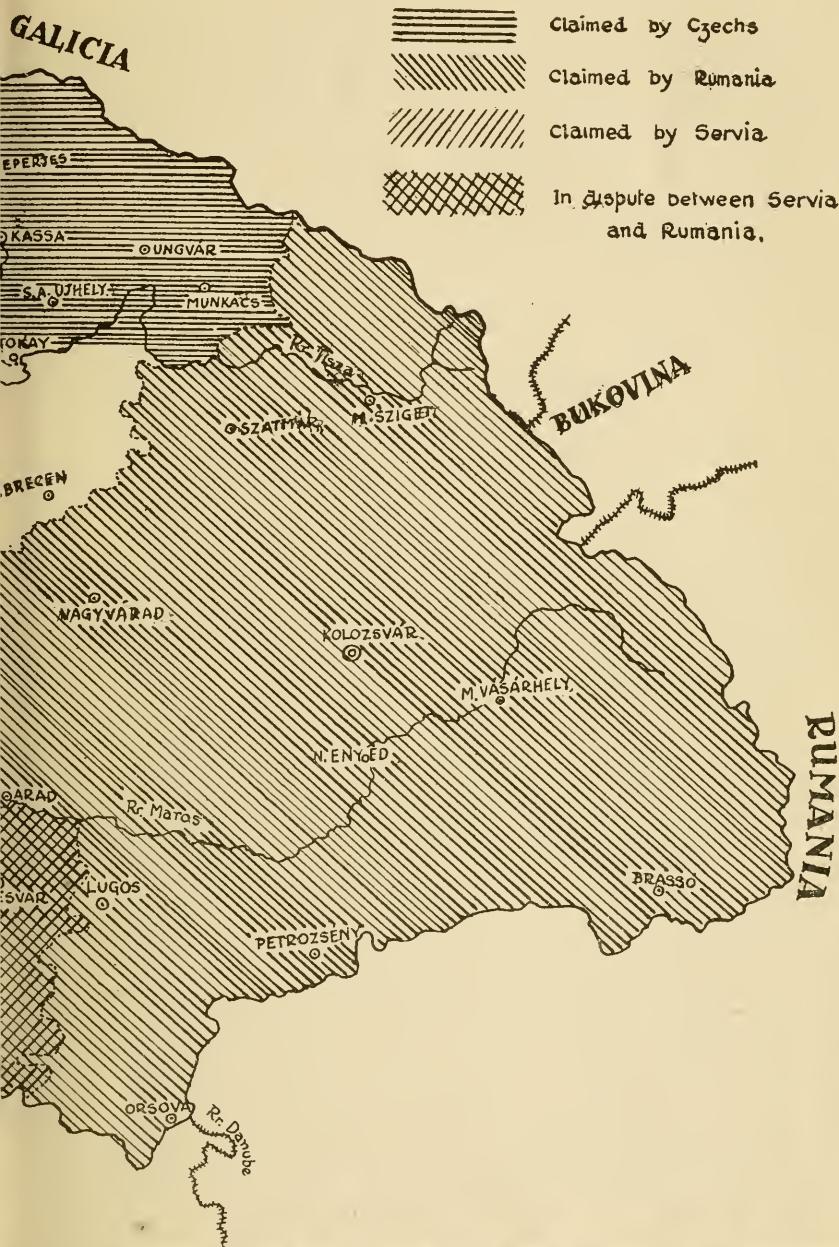
But the standard book on Hungary is *The Political Evolution of the Hungarian Nation*, by the Hon. C. M. Knatchbull-Hugessen, published in two volumes by The National Review Office, London, in 1908, which no one who wants to judge the case of Hungary intelligently can afford not to know.

German scholars have a reputation for thoroughness in research work, not even the most insignificant details escaping their attention in collecting material. But it takes an Englishman (or a Frenchman) to sift the essential from the non-essential and present the often contradictory evidence in a way which will not confuse the reader. It is this rare gift of clear vision and sober judgment, which makes the work of the Hon. C. M. Knatchbull-Hugessen so valuable.

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The following quotations are from the first and the last chapter of his book.

"The Hungarian Constitution, which has been obscured at intervals, violated at times, and suspended for a period, only to prove its indestructibility, is the product of no charter or fundamental statute, but is the result of a slow process of development, of a combination of statute and customary law which finds its nearest parallel in Great Britain. It is remarkable that two such different races should have proceeded on such similar lines as the Anglo-Saxon and the Asiatic people, which, both as regards language and primitive institutions, introduced an entirely new element into Europe. The four blows with the sword directed, at his coronation, to the four cardinal points, by every Hungarian king down to Francis Joseph are an emblem and a recognition of the fact that the Magyar people has had to maintain itself by force of arms against the unceasing attacks of alien neighbors; and the fact that a few thousand wanderers from Asia were able to preserve their individuality and institutions in the midst of an ocean of Slavs, Germans, and Turks, and obtained comparatively quickly a position of equality with members of the European family, argues the possession of exceptional military and political qualities, of exceptional cohesiveness, of a stoical capacity for endurance, and of a rooted confidence in themselves and in their future which no vicissitudes of fortune have been able to destroy. The alien jargon first heard by European ears twelve hundred years ago has maintained its existence in spite of the competition of German and Slav dialects, of deliberate discouragement and temporary neglect, and has developed into a language which, for fulness and expressiveness, for the purpose of science as well as of poetry, is the equal if not the superior of the majority of European tongues. Palacky, the great Czech historian, expressed the opinion that 'the invasion and definite establishment of the Magyars is one of the most important events in the world's history. Slavdom never received a more fatal blow during its existence of several thousand years. It extended in the ninth century from the borders of Holstein to the Peloponnesus . . . and the Magyar by driving a wedge into the heart of the state in process of formation destroyed it, and therewith all the hopes of the Slavs.' A people which has rendered such services to the cause of European equilibrium, which stood for centuries as the *antemurale clypeusque Christianitatis* between the Turk and the Western nations, and has shown such vitality and persistency in the past, is the chief defensive force to be reckoned with in the future should, as some fear, a graver danger arise to the balance of power in Eastern Europe than was ever presented by the spectre of Panslavism."

"British public opinion has, apparently, arrived at the conclusion that the Magyars are consistently guilty of the employment of methods of barbarism in their treatment of subordinate races. Trial by newspaper, condemnation without investigation, are such labor-saving processes that their employment is naturally popular, more especially when the means of forming a considered opinion are not easily accessible. The Magyars are themselves largely to blame for the fact that judgment has been allowed to be passed on them on the *ex parte* statements of self-interested agitators and of humanitarian philosophers, and that they are left to console themselves with the conviction that the abuse of which they are made the target is begotten of ignorance of actual facts, of past history, and of the vital considerations of national expediency. The problem presented by the persistence of minor nationalities is not confined to Hungary, but affects a large part of Europe, from Ireland to Bessarabia, and the measure of the abuse lavished by the spectator of the process of absorption, which is going on as slowly and as surely now as in the past, is in inverse proportion to the magnitude of the absorbing nation. What Russia has done with impunity, would have evoked the thunders of Exeter Hall if perpetrated by a weaker country. Wreschen passes almost unperceived, while a petty Slovak village earns European notoriety through the disturbances resulting from the dismissal of a disorderly priest. The Irishman and the Pole have a recent historical basis for their claims to independent existence, as well as the justification of antiquity, which is wanting in the case of the fragmentary nationalities of Hungary.

"The aboriginal population of what is now Hungary—scattered, incohesive tribes incapable of resisting Magyar arms, or, later, Magyar civilization—died out or was

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absorbed by the superior race. The process of civilization was purely Magyar. The development of governmental institutions proceeded along purely Magyar lines, and bore hardly a trace of either Slav, or, save for the fact that Latin was the literary medium, of Western influence. As we have seen, the mass of the existing nationalities was imported, or filtered into, the country long after it had received a permanent Magyar stamp—desirable or undesirable aliens, who, in most cases, repaid the hospitality they received by lending themselves to the disruptive policy of the Habsburgs. **The disappearance or absorption of the aborigines was due, not to fire or sword or violent compulsion, but to the essential superiority of the Magyar nation, so convinced of that superiority that it never saw the necessity of magyarising races which, in early days, having no conscious feeling of individuality, would have been as wax to receive the permanent impress of Magyar nationality.** The gates were opened wide to European culture from the time of St. Stephen, whose maxim, *regnum unius linguae unusque moris debile et imbecille*, shows his recognition of the fact that the only language and civilization which had hitherto counted for anything in Hungary was the Magyar, as well as his appreciation of the benefits derivable from contact with the West. There is no approximately pure race in Europe except the Basque, the Jews, and the Gypsies, but there are many countries in which the factors have existed which produce the fusion of heterogeneous elements into a single nation—common recollection of dangers surmounted, common religion, and common civilization. Such factors were largely wanting in Hungary. The dangers surmounted were surmounted by the Magyars, who alone did the fighting, the bearing of arms in defense of the fatherland being the privilege of the nobility. There was no common history, for history was made solely by the Magyars. There was no community of religion, as St. Stephen turned to Rome for the national religion instead of to the Eastern Church, thereby, in all probability, saving the Magyars from degeneration to the level of the Balkan races, and from ultimate absorption in the ocean of Slavdom.

"Civilization, such as it was, was purely Magyar, and all governmental institutions were directly developed from the germ evolved by the Magyar national genius before the great migration westwards. The races imported into Hungary at a later date arrived too late to alter accomplished facts even if they had possessed a far higher degree of civilization than any of them had in fact attained. What they chiefly cared for was freedom to exercise their various religions, and such freedom they received at the hands of Hungary, the land *par excellence* of religious tolerance. The better class aliens received the rights of nobility or became fused in the Magyar nation. The inferior elements remained apart, in a condition neither better nor worse than that of the great mass of Magyar peasants, and had little or no consciousness of distinctive nationality, or power to resist a deliberate policy of magyarisation, had such a policy ever entered the heads of the predominant race, which, unfortunately, it never did. Unfortunately, for the reason that successive Habsburgs were enabled to utilize the forces of ignorance for the purposes of their traditional policy of *divide et impera*—of centralization and absolutism. For the existence of hostility to the Magyar idea, tentative and embryonic before 1848, the Magyars have to thank, in the first place, their own consciousness of a superiority which made deliberate magyarisation superfluous, and, in the second place, the Habsburg connection. There never has been any recognized citizenship in Hungary but Magyar citizenship. Though from time to time the Habsburgs encouraged the separatisitc tendencies of the Serb, the Croat, the Saxon, and the Slovak, the fact remains that from the time of St. Stephen to the present day there has been and is no territory in Hungary but the territory of the Sacred Crown. Austria made a last attempt to produce a mongrel federalism in Hungary in 1861, and now itself suffers from the poison of particularism and nationalistic antagonism which the Habsburgs so long tried to infuse into Hungary for their own purposes.

"Nothing can be more misleading than the majority of the maps which purport to show the geographical distribution of the constituent races of Hungary. The broad, uniform smudges of color which indicate that this part is Magyar, this Rumanian, this Servian, this Slovak, and so on, and serve as a text for the disquisitions of the prophets of federalism, obscure the fact that the various races are so intermingled in all parts of the country, and so interspersed with Magyars, that it is impossible to

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effect clear-cut geographical subdivisions for federalistic purposes such as are possible in Bohemia, where the country is peopled by only two races, the Germans and the Czechs, between whom the lines of demarcation are comparatively easily drawn. A glance at the map appended to the recent book of Mr. Ernest Baloghy (*A Magyar Kultura és a Nemzetiségek*, Budapest, 1908) would do more to disperse erroneous notions as to racial distribution than many pages of statistics. Minute squares of color, showing the interpenetration of the nationalities, replace the familiar broad smudges, and the result bears as much resemblance to the ordinary ethnographical map of Hungary as a pheasant's plumage does to the tricolor. The great central plain of the Danube and the Tisza is almost solidly Magyar, as is the eastern part of Transylvania, elsewhere, except in the Serbo-Croatian district south of the Száva, the patchwork diversity of color points an unmistakable moral—the impossibility of a territorial subdivision for purposes of local autonomy, which would not result in the subjection of Magyar and German intelligence to inferior types, whose sole claim to political differentiation lies in the fact that they speak a bastard variety of the languages of more important races. The Magyar element is wanting in not one of 413 electoral divisions; the German only in 37. Slovaks are absent from 211, Rumanians from 235, Croatians from 344, Servians from 351. Ruthenes are to be found in 57 divisions, and fragments of other races in no less than 360. As regards the eighteen divisions of what Brote and other agitators regard as *Rumania irredenta*—Transylvania and Hungary up to the Tisza, the Rumanians are in an actual majority in only eleven; Magyars and Germans form over 37 per cent of the population; and in no single district in which the Rumanians are in the majority is there an admixture of less than eleven per cent of other nationalities. Though the Magyars constitute no more than 54 1/4 per cent of the whole population of Hungary proper, they are more than three times as numerous as the numerically strongest nationality, whereas the German population of Austria forms no more than 38 1/3 per cent of the inhabitants of the hereditary provinces. Between the subordinate races there is no cohesion or solidarity; the Magyar is the only binding element. Panslavism, Pangermanism, and Panrumanism, have alternated from time to time, and in every case the source of agitation was to be found outside the limits of Hungary. Rumanians and Slovaks have nothing in common. The Rumanian hates the Servian, and the Servian the Rumanian.

"The German settlements are too scattered for it to be possible to carve out a characteristically German territory not permeated with Magyar, or Slovak, or Rumanian elements, are too far removed from Germany to dream of union therewith, and too good Hungarian citizens to wish such union were possible. The Germans of Zips fought in Rákóczi's army, stood side by side with the Magyars in the fight for freedom in 1848, and prayed for the restoration of the Hungarian Constitution—the sole guarantee of their liberties. The Transylvanian Germans are less disposed than those of Zips to forget their origin, but considerations of selfpreservation must compel them to ally themselves with the Magyars against the numerically preponderant, but educationally inferior, Rumanians. . . . An inferior civilization cannot swallow up a superior one.

"The **Slovaks** in the north-western part of Hungary are more compact than most of the nationalities, but they are on too low a plane to be able to stand alone. In the north-east they are mixed up with Magyars and Germans who would never submit to the domination of an inferior race which has never done anything for its adopted country or for itself. According to Hunfalvy, the great authority on the nationalities of Hungary, the Slovaks, so far from being aboriginal inhabitants, are of Czech-Moravian origin and wandered into Hungary in the fifteenth century. They had no conception of a separate national existence before 1848, when, as the author of the petition to Francis Joseph stated, they awoke from their sleep of nine hundred years' duration. There was no Slovak language, only a Czech *patois*. Not until 1850 was there a Slovak grammar. In 1862 a society, the *Matica Slovenska*, was formed for the purpose of fostering the Slovak literature and promoting the use of the Slovak language—a task which was complicated by the fact that both literature and language had first to be invented. There are no scientific Slovak writings, and even the books in use in 326 schools in which the language of instruction is Slovak are Czech. The

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creation of an independent Slovakia is unthinkable, and Slovak autonomy, implying the subordination of Magyar and German intelligence to mere numerical superiority, would be intolerable. Such Slovaks as wish for a change desire fusion with the Czechs or are tarred with the brush of Panslavism. The very existence of a Slovak question, of a Slovak nationality, is a proof that the Magyars have not been guilty of undue interference with the natural development of subordinate races whose separatistic tendencies, devoid of historical justification, are the artificial production of the traditional Habsburg policy, and of the times in which we live.

"Servian autonomy is equally inconceivable. The Serbs of Hungary proper, less than half a million strong, are to be found in considerable numbers only in four counties. Elsewhere they are numerically unimportant, and provided that their ecclesiastical autonomy is respected, have no more wish for a separate political existence than they have for reunion with the inferior civilization of their congeners in Servia, the limits of whose capacity for orderly self-government are sufficiently notorious. (The story of the member of the Skupstchina who asked, "Who is this Mr. Budget of whom they talk so much?" is presumably well known.)

"For centuries the Rumanians of Hungary had no notion that they could boast a Roman origin. Not until they turned to Roman Catholicism did they conceive the idea that they were anything but what they are—Balkan Slavs whose remote ancestors were more or less Latinized by contact with the Roman colonial forces. It would indeed be remarkable if a Roman army of occupation had left no illegitimate mementoes of its stay in the country, but what percentage of Roman blood is likely to be traceable in its descendants after a nomad existence of over a thousand years in the Balkan Peninsula? There is not a particle of evidence to show that the Rumanians were already domiciled in Transylvania when the Magyars arrived there. As we have seen, the theory of a settled political existence in a permanently Romanised Dacia is a late invention of Sinkai and his followers. The idea of a uniform, united, Rumanian nation never occurred to anyone before 1848, and even after that date the ideas of Bishop Siaguna, the prophet of Rumanian union, went no further than a demand of local self-government and of ecclesiastical autonomy for the Rumanians of Transylvania. The notion of a greater Rumania was not yet conceived. Majorescu, the chief of Siaguna's immediate followers and imitators, went a step further and demanded the union of all Rumanians in Transylvania, Bessarabia, and Bukovina under Austrian hegemony, and with the benevolent support of the German Confederation. By the peace of Paris, Russia's protectorate over Moldavia and Wallachia came to an end, and part of Bessarabia was incorporated in Moldavia. Later, the Rumanians were rewarded for their action in saving Russia from a fiasco at Plevna by the creation of a Rumanian Kingdom and by the loss of Bessarabia. . . . The irredentist agitation might just as well be bugun in Bessarabia instead of in Hungary, except for the fact that Russia has a short way of dealing with inconvenient propagandists, and that the Magyars err on the side of excessive tolerance. The Rumanians see a justification and an example in Italy's struggle for union, oblivious of the fact that in that case the fight was for re-union; whereas there never was a greater Rumania, united or disunited, that the scattered Rumanians never conceived the idea of a common origin till a few years ago, and that the country has yet to be discovered which can boast with certainty of being the cradle of the Moldavo-Wallachians or Transylvanian Vlachs. . . . There is no justification for the Rumanian demands; no recurrence to a past of Rumanian unity based on common history, on distinctive civilization, or on the right of prior occupation. As Beksics says, an Italian claim to Provence and a Russian claim to Brandenburg and Berlin on the ground that they were once occupied by Slavs would be no more absurd from the historical point of view. As regards the demand for Rumanian control of Transylvania and of Hungary up to the Tisza, it is to be observed that the Rumanians are in an actual minority, forming about 40 per cent of the population; so whatever justification it may possess from other points of view, it has none from that of mere numbers."

"But history, wealth, and education are of no importance in the eyes of separatistic agitators. As regards education, the Rumanians of Hungary are on a lower

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plane than any constituent race. In 1890, of Rumanian males, only 19.89 per cent could read and write their own language; of females, only 8.19. According to Baloghy, in 1907, 86 per cent were entirely illiterate, and it is absurd to suggest that such a race is fit for autonomy, or could be politically self-sufficient. The agitators would reply that the low percentage of literates is due to Magyar oppression and obscurantism. Let us examine this allegation. In 1880, 5.71 per cent of Rumanians could speak the Magyar language; in 1890 the figure had risen to 6.95, an increase of 1¼ per cent in ten years, which hardly bears out the statement that the Rumanians are being robbed of their language and compulsorily magyarized. According to a favorite lie, intended for foreign consumption, Law xviii. of 1879, which made Magyar a compulsory subject of instruction, made it the compulsory medium of instruction in all schools, and the Rumanians were consequently deprived of the means of learning their own language. What are the facts? In 1881 there were 2781 elementary schools in which Rumanian was the sole language of instruction, and only 322 in which both Rumanian and Magyar teaching was given. In 1892 the number of purely Rumanian schools had risen to 3289, and the Magyar-Rumanian to 364—a 9 per cent increase in favor of the Rumanian language. The fact should be noted that though the Rumanians of Hungary are on a lower educational level than any other nationality, there is one place where the darkness is still more intense than in Transylvania, namely the Mecca of the irredentists, Rumania proper, where only 13 per cent of the population can read and write, and only 18 per cent of the children of the age of instruction go to school. The Magyars are to blame, not for robbing the nationalities of their language, but for not properly carrying out the law of 1879. So recently, as 1897, of 3000 Rumanian teachers, more than 500 were ignorant of the language of the State, and today, for more than one-quarter of the schools of Hungary the Magyar is a non-existent idiom. Darkest Hungary is that part of the country to which Brote assigns an essentially Rumanian character. The commercial capacity of the inhabitants is such as might be expected—it is commensurate with their intellectual abilities. But for the existence of trifling cottage industries, it might be said that the manufacturing arts are unknown to the Rumanians. According to the official return of 1890, there was not one Rumanian manufacturer in all Hungary who gave employment to as many as twenty workmen. . . .

"What were the sins of which the Magyars were guilty towards the Rumanians which justified the actions of the latter in 1848? To have admitted them to a footing of religious equality, and to have put them on the same level as regards political rights and the right to own land as Magyars themselves. Before that date the Rumanian common people were no worse off than the vast majority of the dominant race which had no political rights and could not own real property. Unfit for freedom, it was not until they were free that they rose against their liberators. . . .

"Deák regarded the regularisation of Hungary's position as regards the nationalities as almost as important as the regularisation of its relations with Austria. Hungary, he said, was 'determined to do everything that could be done to remove misunderstanding short of territorial disintegration and the sacrifice of independence', and to produce a fusion of interests and a feeling of solidarity between all Hungarian citizens whatever their origin might be. Law xliv. of 1868 was an honest attempt to satisfy the legitimate desires of the nationalities, even at the risk of infringing the rights of the paramount race. As usual the Magyars erred by taking insufficient care of their own interests. The fundamental error of Deák, and the law of 1868, was that it protected alien dialects, but failed to protect the rights of the language of the Magyar State. It would have been more reasonable if the Legislature, instead of making weak concessions to the nationalities in the hope that they would the more appreciate the privileges of Hungarian citizenship, had made a knowledge of the language of State a condition precedent to the enjoyment of the civic rights. If this had been done, and if the Magyar language had been made an obligatory subject of instruction in all schools in 1868, its use would have become general in the present, second, generation. . . .

"Every nationality, Deák said, has the right to facilities for the education of its children in its own language—a right respect for which is carried to an absurd length in the Hungary of today, which spends 65 per cent of the sum annually spent on

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primary education on schools in which the language of instruction is not the language of the State. . . .

"So far as Hungary, and the nationalities of Hungary are concerned, the best criticism of Springer's scheme of federalisation is to be found in his own words: 'Hungary is geographically the most concentrated of lands—it is an ideal of concentration which will mock all attempts at political subdivision.' Every nationality which tries to carve out a separate national State for itself will immediately have all the other seven nationalities against it'. . . . It has become more and more evident that in the realms of the Habsburgs the Magyars . . . are almost alone in possessing something higher than a parish patriotism, and alone possess the constitutional, parliamentary instinct. It is, therefore, a matter of general interest that nothing should take place which might tend to the weakening or dismemberment of Hungary. It seems that Palacky's much-quoted phrase requires re-editing. If there were no Hungary it would be necessary to invent one, were it possible to do so.

"There is a much-quoted saying to the effect that the Magyar is blind to everything that he does not wish to see. 'Damn it, sir,' said Nelson at Copenhagen, as he put his telescope to his sightless eye in order to be able to say that he had not seen the signal of recall, 'a man has a plain right to be blind sometimes'—and most of all when the future of his nation is at stake. It is also said that the hegemony of the Magyars is maintained, and can be maintained, only by artificial means. It is untrue. Bekszics has justly remarked that the Magyars might well despair if national unity depended on grammatical unity. It is divergence of civilisation, not grammatical differences, which prevents the coalescence into a nation of heterogeneous elements. The history of centuries is the history of the abortive attempt to impress the German stamp on Hungary, in which there has been, and is, only one absorbent civilisation—the Magyar. The rebirth of the Magyar idea in some respects dates only from the day when, some seventy-five years ago, Stephen Széchenyi first addressed the Diet in its proper language; but what a change in the relative positions of Hungary and Austria those few years have brought about, in spite of intervening Világos. Three-quarters of a century are but as one day in the history of the development of a nation. In Guizot's words: 'Quelle est dans la vie des peuples la grande cause qui n'a pas éprouvé de cruels revers, passé par de tristes alternatives et mis des siècles à triompher? Dieu vend cher aux hommes le progrès et le succès. . . . Que n'en a-t-il pas coûté à l'Angleterre? Que de révolutions et de réactions! que de temps, de sang, et de travail!' The Magyars also have paid the price of progress and success in labor and in blood."

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## APPENDIX B.

### EXTRACT

From a Statement made by *Mr. Aloysius Kovács, LL.D.*, Secretary of the Hungarian Statistical Office, Budapest, to an American newspaper correspondent as to the authenticity of the Hungarian Census.

The census takers had been everywhere first of all the teachers, having been obliged by the census law to act in that capacity. From the year 1910 we have no information, but in 1900 of the 30,650 census takers 15,111 were teachers. In the same year the number of all the male teachers in the country was 20,970. Hence three-fourths of the teachers had taken part in the enumeration. In 1910 their number must have been still greater, on the one hand because the town teachers were also obliged to take part, on the other hand because the village notaries have been superintendents and thus could not act as census takers. In non-Hungarian regions—naturally—the census takers were mostly non-Hungarian teachers and clergymen.

After the assortment of the census material, too, when the results for the individual communities were at hand, the Statistical Office has taken special pains to obtain in the data of the mother tongue a faithful picture of reality. To this end it has compared the data of the single communities with the results of the former census, and if the differences were striking, explanations were demanded from the respective communal or district authorities. After such informations either the data were accepted for true or—as it often happened—the erroneous entries were corrected through commissioned officials by consulting the people of the place. The correspondence and minute books referring to it may be still inspected.

Therefore the Statistical Office has done all that was possible to obtain true data of the mother tongue. But, in spite of all carefulness and precaution, both at the recording and at the elaboration smaller mistakes might have crept in, just as it happens in all demographical enrollments—in recording age, occupation, denomination, etc.—be it the most perfect census method of the world. It is important, however, to notice that such little blunders, being committed for and against, in the last result balance each other.

But the objections brought forth against the authenticity of the census can be refuted by the census itself as well as by other records of the Statistical Office. The chief objection is against the number of the Hungarians. It is stated that the statistical number of the Hungarians is put higher than their number in reality is by entering everybody who speaks Hungarian into the class of those whose mother tongue is Hungarian. This is refuted by the datum of 1,875,789 souls who speak Hungarian without having it for their mother tongue. The number of those who know Hungarian is published also (in *Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények*, Vol. 42) according to communities. In this publication anyone can see that the number of those who know Hungarian does not agree with the number of those whose mother tongue is Hungarian. Exceptions are only some far out-of-way communities. The above objection is refuted also by the data referring to the knowledge of languages. According to the detailed results of the census the number of:

Hungarians	knowing	German	was.....	1,254,411
Germans	"	Hungarian	" .....	756,971
Hungarians	"	Slovak	" .....	547,136
Slovaks	"	Hungarian	" .....	417,306
Hungarians	"	Rumanian	" .....	400,096
Rumanians	"	Hungarian	" .....	373,822
Hungarians	"	Ruthenian	" .....	49,841
Ruthenians	"	Hungarian	" .....	64,915
Hungarians	"	Croatian and Servian	was.....	178,508
Croat. and Serv.	"	Hungarian	was .....	178,985

Except the German, in the other languages there is but little difference between the number of the Hungarians speaking a non-Hungarian tongue and that of the non-Hungarians speaking the Hungarian. The number of Hungarians speaking German is bigger than the number of Germans speaking Hungarian, because in Hungary German is, to a certain extent, also the language of international and commercial intercourse. These figures prove that the languages mutually spoken mutually equal each other. That is, supposing the Hungarians speaking also Rumanian to be really Rumanians and the Rumanians speaking also Hungarian really to be Hungarians, by this their proportions would not change.

The correctness of the nationalistic data is proved also by the religious census in divisions where race and creed are almost identical. In the 15 Transylvania counties the denominational and nationalistic statistics in comparison is this: There are Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Unitarians and

Israelites altogether	906,460	—Hungarians.....	918,217
Lutherans	229,028	—Germans .....	234,085
Greek Catholics and Greek Orientals	1,542,268	—Rumanians	
and others (mostly Gypsies).....			1,526,065

In the division of the confluence of the Tisza and Maros there are:

Greek Catholics and Greek Orientals together.....	1,160,581
Rumanians and Servians together.....	1,136,284

In the County of Szilág there are:

Greek Catholics and Greek Orientals together.....	142,542
Rumanians, Ruthenians, Servians and "others" together.....	138,280

Thus the denominational proportions justify the percentages of the nationalities. This congruence of the denominational and nationalistic data can be traced and proved from community to community.

In disputing the correctness of the Hungarian census data the Rumanians used to refer to their own church lists which are claimed to give a much higher number than the official statistics. On this basis it is supposed to find 3,600,000, or even 4 million Rumanians in Hungary against the official number of 2,948,000.

How untenable this claim is can be shown from the work of a distinguished Rumanian author, Nicolae Mazere, Professor at Jassy. M. Mazere in his work "Karta Etnografica Transilvanici" of 1909 has drawn an ethnographical map of Transylvania according to communities, and, thinking the Hungarian data unreliable, he wished to use the church lists. But in the introduction of his work he is compelled to confess that "the church lists—the only Rumanian sources at disposal—are entirely impossible to use." [Ibidem, p. 12.] After having reviewed the shortcomings of the church lists he says: "This I do not write for the sake of mere criticism but in order to prove that the church lists can not serve as basis for a scientific work." [Ib. p. 13.] Therefore, in composing his ethnographical map he follows the records of the official Hungarian statistics, and has to confess that "this map will cause some disappointment among the Rumanians, because the Rumanians have imagined Transylvania to be far less Hungarian." [Ib. p. 13.]

The nationalistic relations of the country are not known to the Statistical Office from the census alone. The office gathers informations on the mother tongue yearly from demographical papers and from school statistics. These data collected after personal declarations confirm in every respect the results of the census, and they are all the more reliable as they can be compared in every community with the census data.

The census gives the following nationalistic percentages:

Hungarians .....	54.5
Germans .....	10.4
Slovaks .....	10.7
Rumanians .....	16.1
Ruthenians .....	2.5
Croatians .....	1.1
Servians .....	2.5
Others .....	2.2
Total.....	100.0

In the same census year, in 1910, the proportion of the brides and bridegrooms, and of births and deaths according to mother tongue was as follows:

	Bridegrooms	Brides	Born Alive	Died
Hungarians . . . . .	54.5	54.1	54.2	51.3
Germans . . . . .	10.0	10.4	9.5	9.6
Slovaks . . . . .	9.6	9.9	11.6	11.3
Rumanians . . . . .	18.3	18.2	16.3	18.9
Ruthenians . . . . .	2.3	2.3	2.8	2.7
Croatians . . . . .	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.1
Servians . . . . .	2.8	2.7	2.8	3.3
Others . . . . .	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.8
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

These figures reiterated from year to year with but little deviations corroborate the nationalistic relations revealed by the census. It must be remembered that the discrepancy in comparison to the census results finds its sufficient explanation in the different conditions of age, mortality and fecundity among the different nationalities clearly described in the demographical publications of the statistical office.

Last we may quote the figures indicating the percentage of the students of elementary and repetition schools according to their mother tongue in the school year 1910-11:

Hungarians . . . . .	54.8
Germans . . . . .	12.2
Slovaks . . . . .	13.7
Rumanians . . . . .	11.8
Ruthenians . . . . .	2.4
Croatians . . . . .	1.2
Servians . . . . .	2.4
Others . . . . .	1.5
Total.....	100.0

These figures—of course—are influenced by the circumstance that the different nationalities send their children into school in different proportions. The data, however, are extant in each denomination and in each school; thus they may be compared in every community with the official data. The percentage of the Rumanians among the schoolgoers is smaller than in the population. But it is well known that the schooling of the Rumanians is backward also in Rumania.

After all, the Hungarian Statistical Office is willing at any time to submit its precise method and its careful and conscientious employment in the nationalistic enrollment to the criticism of the International Statistical Institution—alone competent to judge in the case.





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